

THE
CATECHISM
OF
MAN.

POINTING OUT
FROM
SOUND PRINCIPLES,
AND
ACKNOWLEDGED FACTS,
The Rights and Duties
OF
EVERY RATIONAL BEING.

Am I therefore become your enemy because I tell you the truth ? Gal. iv. 16

Now all these things happened unto them for examples, and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the earth are come. i Cor x 11.

—— That there may be equality. ii. Cor. viii. 14.

L O N D O N

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INTRODUCTION.

MA N Is a social animal. In every state in which he is found, he is found associating with those of his kind. Indeed, the desire of Society is not more strongly prompted by instinct, than it is dictated by necessity and approved by reason. In Society only can he find protection from many of the animals of prey, learn the arts which civilize and refine human life, and practise the duties which strengthen his virtue and dignify his nature.

After all the improvements of Society, however, Man is imperfect. In the most civilized state some will always be found who would rather gratify their passions, than improve their virtue, and some who would rather acquire riches by fraud, than gather them by industry. Even the best require something external to check the ebullitions of passion, and enforce the dictates of conscience. This has given birth to civil Government.

All Laws suppose that Man is an agent, and that he is a free agent. By the first he is capable of acting, and by the second he becomes accountable for his conduct. Destitute of such a power, and such a freedom, he could not be an object of Government, there would be no merit in obedience, nor blame in transgression, and consequently there could be neither rewards nor punishments, the framing of laws would have been vain and absurd, and Governor and Subject words without meaning. When we are commanded to fear God and honor the King, that both are in our power is plainly implied.

Examining the different subsisting Governments, in all the quarters of the Globe, the dullest man cannot fail to perceive what the most partial must be forced to acknowledge, that almost all of them have trampled on the rights, and do disregard the happiness of the people at large. But, if the people at large, the labouring Hind, the industrious Farmer, the useful Artizan, the ingenious Manufacturer, the enterprising Merchant, and the lower, but most virtuous part of Land-holders are the great and essential parts of every State.—If they are the sources of its strength, independence and wealth:—If in time of war they fight its battles, and both in war and peace defray, by the sweat of their brow, or the exertions of their genius, the expences of its Government.—If, in short, they are what I maintain them to be, the very vitals of the political body, without which it could not exist, far less thrive; their Rights ought to be respected, and their Happiness consulted, as much as those of any order of the State, though wearing a crown, honored with a title, or adorned with a star and garter.

But

But the rights and happiness of the people are not the only things which may be affected by the constitution of the Government and the manner of administering it. History shews that the virtue of the people greatly depends on the degree of civil liberty they enjoy. Deprive them of the latter, and by weakening their minds, you not only greatly unfit and indispose, but, in many situations, you absolutely preclude them from fulfilling the obligations of the former. If, as was lately the case in France, the un-offending husband-man can be dragged from under his own vine and fig-tree, and be thrown into the gloomy cells of a Bastile, there to linger out a miserable existence, at the capricious will of an unprincipled tyrant, whose natural cruelty and despotism, is often much encreased by the instigations of a Royal Strumpet, or Titled Prostitute.—If, as is the case in our own country, at the present moment, the honest mariner can be torn from his peaceful pursuits by the ruffian hands of a vagabond-press-gang, crammed between the unhealthy decks of a receiving-ship, forced aboard a man of war, and, in a distant clime perhaps be bereaved of his limbs or his life, in a cause of which he is perfectly ignorant, and in the success of which he has not the smallest concern, how shall either the one or the other provide for those who depend on their presence, and industry, and life for their support, and prosperity and happiness. And are we not as much bound by Nature and by God to provide for our virtuous wives, young children and aged parents as we are to gratify the humours and fight the battles of crowned heads. If to defray the expences of the many unnecessary, long, and ruinous wars, in which the boundless vanity, the mad ambition, and their other malignant passions engage us, the necessaries of life are highly taxed, how shall we be able to pay our just debts, and discharge the duties of humanity? And are we not as

much bound by justice and by humanity to pay our debts and supply the wants of the poor, as we are to pay taxes? If men are not suffered to enjoy civil liberty, they are not suffered to provide for their families, to be just to their creditors, and to be compassionate and helpful to the Poor. By oppression, they are not more certainly rendered miserable, than they are made immoral. The slavery of the body paves the way to the slavery of the mind, and the slavery of the mind is utterly destructive of all generosity of feeling, and magnanimity of conduct.

All history shews, that in proportion as men have been free, they have been virtuous, and that according as the reign of Tyranny hath prevailed, so hath the dominion of Vice. In the early ages of the Roman Commonwealth, the People would not suffer even their Kings (who generally think they may be as licentious as their bad hearts incline them and boast at the same time that they can do no ill,) to be immoral. For an act that christian subjects would, perhaps, reckon a venial fault, they dethroned a King, banished him and all his family, and, in marked abhorrence of the atrocious crimes Kings were capable of committing, instantly abolished Monarchical Government.—But in those unhappy countries where Despotism reigns, the debauching a Lucretia, or cohabiting with those who had been debauched before,—cloathing them in the finest silks,—furnishing them with the most splendid equipage,—keeping them in sumptuous palaces,—and making large provision for the bastard breed of their criminal connection, and that by large sums squeezed from the hard labours and scanty pittance of the industrious poor, will scarce affect a Prince's character.

How very different was the character of the Roman People, (every school boy knows it,) in the time of the Consuls, from what it afterwards was during the reigns of the despotic Cæsars. During the former period, being free, they were temperate and hardy, they loved their Country and feared the Gods. During the latter being enslaved, they were luxurious and effeminate, venal and irreligious. The loss of virtue accompanied in Rome, the loss of freedom, and the same cause will, in every country, produce the same effect.

But the tools and the dupes of despotism insist, that however much the people may be interested in the constitution and administration of the Government, they are utterly incapable either to form the one, or to direct or judge of the other, but such a libel against human nature was never uttered. What possibly can we suppose them fit judges of, if not of their own affairs? While they have the sense of feeling left must they not feel where the shoe pinches them and where it sits easy? During the administration of the father of the present Pitt, every plan was formed with wisdom, executed with vigour and crowned with success. The consequence was, the people loved the King, praised the Minister, and were pleased with the Parliament.— This shews that the people know when their affairs are well managed, and that they were as ready to applaud an able father, as they are now to condemn his undeserving son.

When the people unite for a redress of grievances, their union is called Faction, their petitions Sedition. But no man nor body of men can justly be called Factious who have just grounds of complaint, none Seditious who only supplicate the redress of their wrongs. They only are factious who unite that they may be powerful,
and

and are powerful that they may enslave. It is a fact which common observation, without the aid of history, would establish to the conviction of every impartial mind, that licentiousness generally prevails most among those who are the first to cry out against it. If any regard to decency, any love or practice of virtue remains in a Nation, Where would you expect to find it? Not among Kings, Princes, Nobles, and Courtiers, but among the middling and lower classes of the People.

Let us examine and see with our own eyes, whether the former are more chaste, more humane, more honest and more religious than the latter. According to their comparative fewness of number, are they more consistent in their conduct, less apt to be swayed by interest, more regular in paying their accounts, guilty of fewer frauds, more seldom divorced or become bankrupts. They are much belied if it is so. But let the appeal, in this country, be made to the conduct of many of them of the present day, in Parliament,—to their Tradesmen's Books.

—to the daily accounts of Criminal Amours at watering places.—to the history of some of our most noted Actresses.

—to the circles at Pharo.—to the records of Doctors Commons and other Courts of law,—and to many of their unnatural Deaths. From these the decision is wholly in favour of the people, and yet we are continually dummed about the peoples licentiousness. The meanest dupe of arbitrary power, the most abject wretch about the court, or dependent upon it, and all the vile tools of the Ministry never want this phrase in their mouth.

Even some, whose dereliction of all political principle and profligacy of manners are notorious, are ever bawling out against those who are much better than themselves.*

Civil liberty in their opinion is the greatest licentiousness. Formed without the feelings which make it appear precious and desirable, or having stifled them, Liberty is the object of their aversion—Its friends, of their hatred.

But

* Vide at conclusion, an impromptu to Thomas Paine, sent to the Publisher.

But the People considered as a body, are not only more virtuous, but are more enlightened. If you wanted an able Lawyer, an elegant Historian, or an acute Philosopher, would you seek him among Kings, Princes, Dukes and Lords? fruitless in general, in that case, would be your labours. It is the People who have been the authors of almost every thing either illuminating in science, or useful in art. Who discovered the circulation of the blood?—The People. Who the art of Printing?—The People. Who the power of the Magnet?—The People. Who the use of Logarithms?—The People. Who the continent of America?—The People. Ask, in short, Who have been the Authors of all the remarkable discoveries which have been made? and the answer, with a very few exceptions, will still be—the People. Without frequent draughts from the People to infuse fresh vigour into the puny bodies of Nobles, and genius and taste into their weak minds, what a pitiful race would they quickly become!—what are many of them become already—The unblushing companions of Grooms and of Sharpers, and the detestable Patrons of Boxers and of Strumpets. Who that is not lost to all sense of right & wrong, can help exclaiming, O TEMPORA, O MORES!!!



THE PEOPLE'S PARTY
OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1912

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

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The Catechism of Man,

CHAP. I.

OF MAN.

Q. WHAT is Man?

A. A reasonable and social animal.

Q. How do you prove that he is endowed with reason?

A. From his powers of observing, remembering, comparing, and judging.

Q. How do you prove that he is social?

A. From his natural desire of society, his being always found in society, and his improvement and happiness in it.

Q. Is not the wisdom and goodness of the Almighty Maker, most conspicuous in the nature with which Man is endowed?

A. Yes, for while the evil passions of man, which manifest themselves in society, render government necessary, his reasonable faculties qualify him for obeying its laws.

Q. Are all men born equal?

A. They are all born perfectly equal in respect of their *rights*, but often very unequal in respect of their *talents*.

Q. What is the consequence of their being born equal in respect of their rights?

A. That the rights of all are equally natural, sacred, imprescriptible, and unalienable, and that

A.

that as life, liberty, and resistance of oppression are three of those rights, no person has a title to kill, enslave, or oppress another.

Q. Does government give man any new rights?

A. No, but it gives greater security, effect, and extent to those he formerly possessed.

Q. What is the consequence of men being born unequal in respect of talents?

A. A vast variety of arts and sciences and new improvements in them every day. — An useful diversity in the condition of Man, and a beautiful gradation in social life.

CHAP. II.

Of Government.

Q. WHAT is a nation?

A. A great number of individuals possessed of a certain country and subject to the same government.

Q. What is government?

A. An institution to regulate the conduct of the individuals of which a nation is composed, and to defend them from foreign attacks.

Q. What is the origin of Government?

A. The goodness of the divine being expressed by the will of the people.*

CHAP. III.

Of the Right of the People to chuse their Magistrates and to deliberate on other matters of general concern.

Q. HAVE the people a right to chuse their Magistrates.

A. Yes

* St. Peter calls Government an ordinance of Man.

† Peter, ii. chap. xiii. verse.

A. Yes.

Q. How do you prove that the people have a right to chuse their Magistrates?

A. Reason teaches it, the welfare of the people requires it, and the revealed will of God, expressly authorizes it.

Q. In what part of God's revealed will, do you find it expressly authorized?

A. When the Israelites by the direction of God were travelling through the wilderness, to take possession of the land of Canaan, and to become a free and independent nation, he thus addressed them by his servant Moses, "**Judges and Officers shalt THOU § MAKE thee in all thy gates which the Lord thy God g'veth thee, throughout thy tr bes.*" and again, "*† When thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God g'veth, and shalt possess it, and shalt say, I § WILL set a king over me, &c.*"—In the first of these passages the right of chusing Magistrates is expressly given, and in the last the actual possession of it is plainly implied.

Q. Did the Israelites ever exercise this right?

A. Whenever it was necessary.

Q. Can you give an instance of it?

A. By the exercise of this right Saul was elected. "*And ALL THE PEOPLE† went to Gilgal, and there THEY MADE Saul king before the Lord.*" In the same manner David the son of Jesse was raised to the throne by the tribe of Judah at Hebron. "*And the men of Judah || came and there THEY anointed David king over the house of Israel.*" And the election made by the tribe of Judah was soon after ¶ recognized and confirmed by all the tribes of Israel.

* Deut. xvi. 18 † Deut. xvii. 14. § By *Thou and I* in the passages referred to, is meant *the People at large*. † i Samuel, xi, 15. || ii Samuel ii 4. ¶ ii Samuel iv. 3.

Q. Did not the rulers of Israel derive their right of sovereignty solely from God?

A. In some instances they were named by him, but whether they were so or not, the free choice and ratification of the people was absolutely necessary to render their government legitimate.

Q. Did the Rulers of Israel never assume the sovereignty from what is called in modern times hereditary right?

A. Never, at least in the early and most virtuous parts of their history. — Moses their first Magistrate was succeeded by Joshua, who was of the tribe of Ephraim. — Joshua was succeeded by Judges of different tribes. — At last when the foolish Israelites desired a King and *God gave them one in his anger** there was not the smallest attention paid to hereditary succession, nay, in direct opposition to it, David was chosen while Ishbosheth the son of Saul was alive. — Adonijah the son of David was older than his brother Solomon, and yet the latter was chosen. — Rehoboam Solomon's oldest son succeeded his father but not by hereditary right, but by the free choice of the People, *And Rehoboam went to Shechem for ALL ISRAEL,† Commons as well as Nobles, poor as well as rich, were come to Shechem to MAKE HIM KING.* which is a plain acknowledgement that without their consent he had no right to the crown.

Q. Have the people in modern times ever exercised the right of choosing their Magistrates?

A. Often, but I will only mention two instances of it. — Little more than two hundred years ago, the people of Holland, after throwing off the galling yoke of Philip II. of Spain, chose William I. Prince of Orange to be their Statholder.

Exod. xxi. 1. † 1st. Kings, xii.

er, and little more than one hundred years ago the people of this Country, our own Fathers and Grandfathers, when by the abdication of James II. and his consequent expulsion, a King was wanted, made choice of William III. Prince of Orange, the Dutch Statholder, and both they and we have, at different periods, resisted by force the claims of James's son and grandson, successive Pretenders to the office of first Magistrate.

Q. Besides the right of chusing their Magistrates, have not the people also a right to deliberate on other matters of state?

A. Most undoubtedly.

Q. Does the history of the people of Israel afford any instances of the exercise of this right?

A. Many, when the tribes of Reuben and Gad and the half tribe of Manassah, set up an altar on the side of Jordan and the whole congregation of Israel were gathered together at Shiloh, they (the People) sent Phinchas the son Eleazar, and with him ten princes to expostulate with them on the subject: Joshua was still alive, Elders were not wanting, but the business was too important to be left to the management of either the one or the other, or even of both, peace or war depended on its issue, and as in each of these, the happiness or misery of every individual was much concerned, it was but reasonable the opinion of every individual should be consulted. And in the same way the message was sent, it was received, not by a Prince or Secretary of State, but by the whole two tribes and a half. The consequence of such a general consultation was, the business was happily settled, peace preserved, and the horrors of war avoided. — In the same

* Joshua xxii. 12. † verse 13, 14.

manner, in the affair of the Levite and his Concubine, as the honor of all the children of Israel was concerned, the opinion of all was consulted. *Then all the children of Israel* we are told, went out, and the congregation was gathered together, as one man, from Dan even to Beer-sheba, with the land of Gilead, and being thus assembled, we are farther told, they were called on to † give their advice and counsel, concerning the measures which ought to be pursued. ‡*

Q. These instances are sufficient to prove what you have asserted. — Does the history of other Nations afford any instances of the same thing?

A. Yes, In Greece, in Gaul, and in Britain, long before the very existence of such Parliaments as ours, (and much longer before they had become merely nominal, and the servile tools of a corrupt court) the great body of the people, assembled on an extensive plain, and clad in armour, assisted at the great council of the Nation or to speak more accurately, constituted its essence.

CHAP. IV.

Of the responsibility of Magistrates.

Q. ARE Kings subject to laws?

A. They either are, or ought to be.

Q. What

Judges 20. 1. †V. 7. ‡It cannot surely be in the least derogatory to the honor of any Magistrate or legislative body to consult the opinion of the people at large. And had this always been done, how many long, bloody, and destructive wars might have been prevented? how many checks on manufactures and commerce avoided? how many oppressive taxes unfelt and unknown? how many honest, industrious people kept from starving? and how many fathers, husbands, and sons preserved alive to their children, their wives and their parents?.

Q. What are the laws to which Kings are, or ought to be subject.

A. The laws of religion, and the laws of the land.*

Q. Do they ever transgress these laws?

A. Often.

Q. To whom are they accountable?

A. For breaking the laws of religion they are more immediately accountable to God, for breaking the laws of the land they are both accountable to God and to the People.

Q. Hath God ever inflicted exemplary punishments on Magistrates for breaking the laws of Religion?

A. Yes, after Solomon's, seven hundred wives had turned away his heart from the God of Israel, and he had built an high place for Chemoth, the abomination of Moab, on the hill that is before Jerusalem, and for Molech the abomination of the children of Ammon, we read † *Wherefore the Lord said unto Solomon, forasmuch as this is done of thee and thou hast not kept my covenant and my statute which I have commanded thee, I will surely rend the Kingdom*

*That the Magistrates of Israel might never act contrary to Law, from not knowing what the Law was, God thus commanded them, *And it shall be when he (the King) sitteth upon the throne of the Kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this Law in a Book, and he shall read therein all the days of his Life.* He was not to have the law transcribed by another, but, the more to impress its contents on his mind, he was to do it with his own hands.—The reading and understanding it was not to be left to Lord Chief Justices, Secretaries of State, or Members of a Privy Council, but he was to do it himself, nor was he to read it occasionally, and study it superficially, but *he was to read therein all the Days of his Life.* † 1st. Kings xi. 11.

dom from thee, and will give it to thy Servant.—And so it afterwards happened.—Instigated by worldly policy, Jeroboam made two calve and set up one of them in Bethel, which he commanded the people to worship, a man of God however was sent to cry against it. *And it came to pass we read when king Jeroboam heard the saying of the Man of God, which had cried against the Altar in Bethel, that he put forth his hand from the Altar, saying, lay hold on him, and his hand which he put forth against him dried up so that he could not pull it in again to him — Ahaziah fell down through a lattice in his upper chamber, and as if there had been no God in Israel, sent to enquire of Baalzebub the God of Ekron whether he should recover, and this was his sentence, † Therefore thou shalt not come down off that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die, so he died according to the word of the Lord.*

Q. Have the people ever brought their Magistrates to an account?

A. They have not only brought them to an account, but have cashiered, and otherwise punished them, like other evil doers, for their bad behaviour.

Q. Can you give any instances of it?

A. In the last century Charles I. of England was beheaded, and James II. his Son was banished, and but a few months ago, Louis XVI. of France, after a solemn trial by near eight hundred Judges, was unanimously found guilty, and met with Charles Fate.

Q. What was the great crime of Charles?

A. Taking money from the People without their consent.

Q. What

† 1st. Kings xiii. 4. ‡ 2d. Kings 1. 16, 17.

- Q. What was the great crime of James ?
 A. Dispensing with the established laws of the land, and acting in direct opposition to them.
 Q. What was the great crime of Louis ?
 A. Endeavouring to overturn the Constitution, and destroy the Liberty which he had sworn to defend.

CHAP. V.

Of Despotic Governments.

- Q. HOW many kinds of Government are there ?
 A. They may all be reduced to two.
 Q. What are they ?
 A. The despotic and the Free.
 Q. What is that you call a despotic government ?
 A. That which has no rule of action, but the capricious will of the Governor, and no object of action, but the gratification of his pleasure.
 Q. What are the distinguishing features of such a Government.
 A. Suspicion, fear, distrust and cruelty, exemplified in pænal statutes against some religious opinions and disqualifying statutes against others,—great restraints on the freedom of the press, or the total want of it,—fortified Bastilles,—numerous standing armies ready to fight in the worst cause their Head may direct them,—a base herd of luxurious unprincipled courtiers,—and an unsupportable load of taxes.
 A. Can you give an instance of this kind of Government ?

B.

A. The

A. The Russian.*

Q. Can you mention any of the oppressions under which the People of Russia groan?

A. They have nothing which they can call their own, for their property, services and liberty, are all at the disposal of their Despot.

Q. Are these oppressions peculiar only to the Russian Government?

A. No,—They abound in almost all the kingdoms of Europe, particularly in Prussia and in Germany with all the ignorance, and poverty, and degradation, and slavery, and imprisonment, madness which they naturally produce.

Q. Are such things easily born?

A. No,—To the natural feelings and independent sentiments of man, not debased by slavery, nor perverted by education, they are more insufferable than death.

CHAP.

**Kate of the North* who, as appears from her late Proclamation, thinks she can be pious towards God, while she is unjust and cruel to Men, not contented with tyrannizing over her own subjects, must tyrannize over the kings and subjects of independent Nations. Witness her conduct to the virtuous king and people of Poland, and her attempts to disturb the peace of Sweden and Denmark, by bullying them into hostilities against the French fighting for Liberty.

†The heart of the benevolent Howard was greatly affected when surveying the Prisons in Germany and descending into their damp and dreary cells, he heard the frantic ravings of many whom long confinement had driven to madness. O how long will man the image of his Creator, continue the slave of Princes and the dupe of Priests? How long will the unnumbered millions of the human race forbear to avenge with their rebellious arm, their own wrongs and the indignities offered to their nature? Tyrants hear and tremble, tem-

per audet.

CHAP. VI.

Of resistance to Despotic Governments.

Q. IS resistance to Despotic Governments lawful?*

A. It is not only lawful, but meritorious, well pleasing to God, and fraughted with blessings to men.†

Q. How do you prove that it is well pleasing to God?

A. From his declaring† that he was the Author of the revolt of the ten Tribes, from the Tyrant Re-

*Court Sycophants have, in every age and in every Country, ever represented resistance against tyranny to be resistance against God, but nothing is more false. Though the ordinance of Government be of God, the executor may be of the Devil and often is. Resistance in this case is not against the Governor, but the Oppressor, and his great power, so far from being a good argument, for a tame subjection is the strongest that can be given for a united and vigorous resistance. Magistrates receive power from the People to be exerted for the Peoples good, if they abuse it, they are as unjustifiable as the Man, who, after receiving the King's commission, turns Pirate, and ought to be equally punished.

†Witchcraft, Priestcraft, and Kingcraft, have hitherto been crafty enough to dupe the World. The two first have lost their Power, the last it is expected cannot, in an enlightened age, retain it long.

‡The revolt of the ten tribes from Rehoboam is worthy the attention of every crowned head and of every oppressed people of every country, in every age. On the death of Solomon all the congregation of Israel (1st. Kings, 12 chap. 3 and 4 verse) came and spoke unto Rehoboam saying, thy father made our yoke greivous, now therefore make thou the greivous service of thy father, and his heavy yoke which he put upon us, lighter, and we will serve thee. This one would imagine was a very reasonable and humble petition and would be readily granted. They did not petition that all taxes might be taken off, but only

Rehoboam and from the success with which he hath blessed similar revolts in different ages, particularly that of the Dutch in the sixteenth century, from

only that they should be made a little lighter, for though the Money was plenty, the People were really poor: instead of circulating to Shechem and the extremities of Palestine, it all centered about Court and in Jerusalem. The People therefore came to the young King to petition a redress of grievances, and had he taken the advice of the old Men, who had been his father's Counsellors, all had been well. *They spake unto him (vii v.) saying, if thou wilt be a servant unto this People this day, and will serve them, and answer them, and speak good words to them, then they will be thy servants for ever.* For such an advice every one of these Counsellors deserved a pension, but such honest men are seldom kings favourites. Scorning an advice the fruit of much wisdom and much experience, the foolish king applied himself to the young men who had grown up with him, and they gave him one perfectly suited to his despotic inclination. *And they spake unto him (x. xi. verses) thus shalt thou speak unto this people that speak unto thee, saying thy father made our yoke heavy but make thou it lighter unto us. Thus shalt thou say unto them. My little finger shall be thicker than my fathers loins, and now whereas my Father did lade you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke. My father hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.* This speech, like many other Kings speeches since that period, made the People change their humble petition into a bold remonstrance and practical assertion of their rights, which he did not soon forget. *The people answered the King (xvi. verse) saying, what portion have we in David, neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse. To your tents O Israel. Now see to thine house David. So Israel rebelled (xix. verse) against the house of David.* This was a grievous beginning to the young King and his new Ministry: to lose ten tribes out of twelve was not easy to be endured: accordingly an army of an hundred and fourscore thousand Men (xxi. verse) is assembled to fight against the House of Israel, and to bring the Kingdom again to Rehoboam, but lo! a message from on high stops their progress and defeats their purpose. *Thus saith the Lord (xxiv. verse) ye shall not go up nor fight against your brethren the children of Israel, return every Man to his House*

from the cruel Philip II. of Spain, and that of the Americans in the present, from our most *gracious* King.

Q. What inference do you draw from this?

A. What Judge Blackstone the most constitutional lawyers asserts, and what common sense dictates, that protection and allegiance are reciprocal, and that where the one is not given, the other is not due.

Q. But does not the Apostle Paul enjoin in the strongest manner subjection to the higher powers*

A. He does so, but it is evident he means the powers

House, FOR THIS THING IS FROM ME. Were we to judge of the matter by the maxims of Kings and Courtiers, we should call the ten tribes *rebels*, and so our translators who lived in the times of the arbitrary Stewarts, have actually called them, but the Almighty thought otherwise, for he says *it was from him*, and to suppose that he would be the instigator of rebellion would be blasphemous.

* How lamentable it is to see the pulpit prostituted to the base purposes of kings and despotism, yet it is daily so. To promote their ends the very meaning of the scriptures is perverted. Because the Apostle has said (Romans xiii. chap i. v) *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers*, the courtly Priest aspiring to be a Bishop, or if a Bishop, to be an Archbishop has under the most despotic Government still preached passive-obedience and non-resistance, but the People ought to know that the Apostle teaches no such absurd and cruel doctrines. The word *ἑξουσία* translated *higher powers*, which he uses, does not denote every Government, but such as have had a legitimate birth, and are administered for the peoples happiness, for *ἑξουσία*, as the compiler of a Greek Dictionary justly observes *est jus sive facultas moralis*. When the Apostle would express mere force he uses *δυναμις*, as in Romans viii. chap. xxxviii. verse. and which the same dictionary compiler says, means *vis activa sive facultas naturalis*, but while there are kings and rich benefices at their disposal, the Clergy, regardless of the Apostles meaning, will always preach *Be subject to the higher powers*, whether they be good or bad.

powers which the original word denotes,—*those that possess excellency, are what he himself describes, not a terror to the good works but to the evil, and ministers to the people for good.*

CHAP. VII.

Of free Governments,

Q. WHAT is the other kind of Government you mentioned?

A. The Free.

Q. What is the chief end of a free government?

A. The security of life, liberty and property, and of every thing else dear to man.

Q. What are the distinguishing features of a free Government?

A. Mildness, love and confidence.

Q. Can you give an instance of a free Government?

A. That of the united States of North America.

Q. Can you mention any of the privileges of an American citizen?

A. Yes,—Every man is allowed to worship the God of his Fathers according to the dictates of his conscience, and is not bound to support any minister but his own, for there the unscriptural and oppressive law of Patronage is unknown,—

The

* Romans xiii. 3, 4. * Among the people of the united States of North America since they got rid of the King and Parliament of Great Britain who wished to ~~enslave them~~, the word *subject* is unknown. There every man is a Citizen, protected by wise, good and equal laws. — *Subject* differs in meaning very little from *slave*, and may be a very fit appellation for men who, on matters of Government, care not think their own thoughts, nor speak their own words, but must think and speak as a King, or a Pit, or a Tipu-Saib, chuses to direct them, but signs and

The laws are made by the people whose conduct they are to regulate, and the taxes are laid on by those, by whom they are to be paid,—And any individual, if he has talents and merit, may rise, whatever be his civil profession, or religious persuasion, to the highest offices and honours of the state.

Q. Are these privileges peculiar only to the citizens of the united states?

A. I believe they are.*

Q. What think you of a free Government?

A. I think, that next to the gospel of peace, it is the greatest blessing on earth, far more valuable than golden treasures, and far more chearing than the solar rays.

CHAP. VIII.

Of obedience to free Governments and respect for Magistrates.

Q. IS obedience to free Governments a duty?

A. A most binding one.

Q. Why binding?

A. Be-

* Much have kings and emperors been magnified by flatterers and adored by slaves, but who of them is worthy to be compared with citizen Washington, president of the united States? who of them, of any age or country, ever exhibited such an assemblage of great talents and high virtues? who of them ever united in their own character so much of the elegance of a Scholar, of the courage of a Soldier, of the abilities of a Commander, of the wisdom of a Statesman. or the goodness of a Man? Blessed be the American Revolution and Republic which called them into action and blessed be the exertions of every oppressed people who, like the Americans, have the sense to see their rights and the spirit to assert them—It may also be observed, that it is only in a Republic, that Talents and virtues can have the freest scope, and be crowned with the highest honor. A king dreads ability in a subject as much as a malefactor does the day of execution, unless it is exerted in the defence of Prerogative and the subjugation of the People.

A. Because God commands it, the laws which the people have made require it, and the greatest quantity of individual and general happiness cannot be produced without it.

Q. Are the Magistrates of a free Government entitled to any respect?

A. Yes.

Q. Why?

A. Because it assists them in performing the duties of their office and comforts them in the faithful discharge of it, besides, in respecting them the people respect themselves, for such Magistrates are not only the executors of the law which the people have made, the organs by which it speaks and acts, punishes and rewards, but are the Magistrates of the Peoples choice.

Q. Are other Magistrates entitled to any respect?*

**There is a creature, one Caw, present provost of the beautiful Town of Perth, who commanded one of the Ministers there not to address the following prayer to the Almighty. "Give success to our Kings arms according to the justice of his cause. Scatter all those who delight in cruel war, and who combine against the best interests of the human race, and in pity to the ignorant, the injured, and the enslaved part of thy rational offspring, grant we beseech thee, that the cause of truth, of justice and of freedom may every where prove triumphant.—We rejoice in every account we hear of their progress, and confiding in thy goodness and in the fulfilment of thy Prophecies, we look forward with fond expectation, to the happy period of their full and final establishment. Then the people shall beat their Swords into Plow-shares, and their spears into pruning hooks, Nation shall not lift up sword against Nation, neither shall they learn War any more."* — If the candid reader has the humanity of a man, or the charity of a christian, he will not find in this prayer, which breathes universal Philanthropy, any thing which a good man ought not to utter, and to which the gracious parent of all will not lend a propitious ear, and he will respect the Provost of Perth (who exerted his impotent strength to ruin the young man who used it) according to his deserts.

It is foreign to the object of this undertaking, but the writer

A. Not all the impudent speeches which tyrannical kings and their ministers, since the creation, have made, nor the unsanctified proclamations which they have published,—Not all the ridiculous charges which corrupt Judges have given, nor the many unjust and cruel sentences which they have passed.—Not all the courtly sermons which servile Priests have preached, nor all the elaborate treatises which their prostituted pens have written.—Not all the learned opinions which cunning lawyers have given from their study, nor all the declamatory speeches which they have delivered in the Court—Nor all the fulsome addresses presented by unprincipled Courtiers.—Nor all the loyal resolutions subscribed by dependent pensioners, placemen or expectants, nor in short, *anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the Earth beneath, or that is in the Water under the Earth, has yet been able to convince me that they are.*

CHAP. IX.

Of Constitutions or Forms of Government.

Q. HAVE all Governments the same form?

A. By no means.

Q. How may they be divided?

A. Into the Monarchical, the Aristocratic, the popular and the mixed.

Q. What do you call the Monarchical form?

A. That which vests the power of making and executing the laws in one person called, Sultan, Emperor or King.

Q. Can

of the above note cannot forego the opportunity afforded him by it, of making a public acknowledgement of his obligations to many of the private but benevolent citizens of Perth. In mentioning one of his Friends, the generous youth, Mr. John Allison, he knows he will not be thought the less impressed with the kindness of any of the rest. May every breeze around them breathe health, and every sound be the echo of the purest joy.

Q. Can you give an instance of this form of Government?

A. The Prussian.

Q. What do you call the Aristocratic form?

A. That which vests the power of making and executing the laws in a few, called Grandees, Peers, Nobles, Barons, Lords spiritual or temporal.

Q. Can you give an instance of it?

A. The Venetian.

Q. What do you call the popular form?

A. That which vests the power of making and executing the laws in the People at large : distinguished by a base Apostate from patriotism and pensioned advocate for Kings and Tyranny by the contemptuous appellation of the *Swinish multitude*.

Q. Can you give an instance of this form?

A. The rising republic of France.

Q. What do you call the mixed form.

A. That which vests the power of making the Laws in the King, Lords and Commons, and the power of executing them in the King.

Q. Can you give an instance of this?

A. The British constitution.

Q. Which of these forms is best?

A. That which promotes the peoples prosperity and happiness in the *bigbest degree and at the least expence*.

Q. Where does this form exist?

A. A late popular writer hath asserted among the citizens of the united states of North America, who lately threw off the British Yoke and erected themselves into a free and independent Nation.

Q. Have they flourished greatly since that period?

A. Beyond the most sanguine expectation of their greatest friends, one proof of which is, their having nearly doubled their population.

CHAP. X.

Why Governments differ in their form.

Q. WHAT makes one government to differ from another in its constitution or form?

A. The sovereign will of the People.

Q. What do you mean by the sovereign will of the people?

A. The will of the majority of a nation.

Q. Has every individual of a nation a right to express his opinion of the existing constitution and Government, and his will in case of a change of either?

A. Most assuredly, unless incapacitated by age insanity or crimes.

Q. From whom derived he this right?

A. From the great Author of his being.

Q. For what end?

A. To promote the creator's glory, the welfare of society, and his own happiness.

Q. Can it ever be prescribed by time, or justly cancelled by tyrants?

A. No,—It is coeval with human nature, and ought to be lasting as civil Government.

Q. Can a nation at any time change the form of its Government?

A. Whenever the sovereign will of the People inclines it.

Q. Have nations ever exercised this right?

A. In innumerable instances.

Q. Did the people of Israel ever do it?

A. Yes.

Q. But were they not condemned for it by God?

A. He did not condemn them for the exercise of the right itself, but for the improper use of it, —The chusing a *Kingly* instead of a *Republican* Government.

If the Public approve of the Principles in the
preceeding publication, and the manner of
teaching them, the Author purposes to pub-
lish a second part, explanatory of the princi-
ples of the British Constitution and of the duties
of a British Subject.—Gladly would he contri-
bute his Mite, according to the abilities with
which his Maker hath endowed him, to abolish
Slavery of every kind, to regenerate the Con-
stitution of every Government not founded on
the Rights of Man, and to better the condition
and improve the virtues of his fellow Creatures,



IMPROPTU

TO

THOMAS PAINE.

WHILST railing Foes, who know thee not,
Employ their Tongues in vain;
Who no one Virtue having got,
Love others to defame.

Whilst Princes, Judges, Bishops, Peers,
Thy Head and Heart condemn;
Thou art, my Friend, it plain appears,
A God compar'd to them.

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